THE SECESSION MOVEMENT. GOV. GISTS'S MESSAGE. KENTUCKY FOR UNION. SPEECH BY MR. GUTHRIE. Letter from Senator Clay.

SPEECH BY MR. MEMMINGER.

Henry Ward Beecher on the Crisis.

MESSAGE OF GOV. GIST TO THE LEGISLA-TURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. TURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

There can be no difference of opinion on the great importance of establishing direct trade between Charlesten and Liverpoel, or any other country with which we can exchange commodities. In the Union, is was important and necessary to our commercial presperity to divert a part of the commerce of the world from New-York and other Northern cities to the City of Charleston, and thus build up a great commercial emporium, with ability to supply our own and the merchants of the neighboring States, with a cheap and well-filled market; from which, in turn, they could supply their customers in the interior towns and villages.

they could supply their customers in the interior towns and villages.

In view of the secession of South Carolina from the In view of the seccession of South Carolina from the Union, it becomes doubly important, and absolutely becomes yet that we must have direct trade with Europe and the Continent; and as a large amount of capital is secessary, and there will be some risk in the beginning of such an enterprise, I would recommend that the Legislature should to some extent foster and encourage such enterprises by taking upon themselves a part of the losses that might follow the effort to establish direct trade. Some enterprising citizens of Charleston probrace. Some enterprising citizens of Charleston pro-pose to establish a fine of steam propellers between Charleston and Liverpool, and ask the State to guar-

Charleston and Liverpool, and ask the State to guarantee an interest of five per cent per annam upon the sapital invested in the steamers, as long as they shall continue in the service. This seems to me to be a very fair and reasonable proposition.

In looking forward to the separate nationality of Seath Carolina, many changes will have to be made in existing laws, a part of which you ne doubt will be directed to do, by an ordinance of the Convention of the people soon to assemble; but it may not be improper to bring to your notice the importance of a speedy postal arrangement, to supply the one under the control of the Federal Government. I am authorized to say that the Postmaster at Charleston, the Hon. Alfred Huger, than whom a purer patriot never lived, wil, as soon as the State resumes her sovereignty by an ordinance of her Convention, sever his connection with the Federal Government, and obey any call the State may make upon him for his services. This movement, together with the resignation of all the other Postmasters, will enable the State to act without embarrassment in establishing for herself postal arrangeparrassment in establishing for herself postal arrange might be made with the Adams Express Company to early the mails until a postal arrangement of a perma-ment character could be established, the details of which must, to some extent, depend upon the action of other Southern States.

The law prohibiting masters from permitting negroes

to bire their own time, and make contracts, should to hire their own time, and make contracts, should be so amended, and such penaltice attached to its violation, that no one would venture to disregard it. Without suggesting the particular penalty, I would recommend that both the owner of the slave and the party that hires him or her, should be punished by fine or imprisonment, according to the mitigating or aggravating circumstances that attend the case. Some intended in the case of the case of

It not unfrequently happens that slave mechanics hire white men to work under their direction, and for their benefit, and thus, instead of exercising a control ever that class of population, some are placed under obligations to them. This state of things should not be permitted; there must be a distinction between the races, as marked as their different colors, and it must be distinctly and universally understood that the white bethe governing race, without an exception, and with-out regard to disparity of intellect, merit, or acquire-

ments.

The general recognition by the citizens of South Carolina of their allegiance to the State, and that obedience to the Federal Government ceases as soon as the State withdraws from the Union and asserts her sovereignty, satisfies me that she will have no traitors in her limits; but a wise precaution can result in no harm, and may be the means of advertising our people that if any of them should be so forgetful of their duty to their sovereign, and so reckless of her displeasure as to disregard her ordinances, or obey any other commands than those of the constituted authorities of the State, they will be dealt with as traitors, and punished accordingly. In view, therefore, of such a conshed accordingly. In view, therefore, of such a contingency, some legislation may be necessary in more particularly defining treason to the State, and affixing the proper punishment for the offence. South Carolina must insist upon the implicit obedience of all her citisens, both native and naturalized, and no one can be permitted to put his individual construction upon the relation he bears to the State of his birth or adoption.

The introduction of slaves from other States, which may not become members of the Southern Confederacy, and particularly the border States, should be prohibited and particularly the border States, should be prohibited by legislative enactment, and by this means they will be brought to see that their safety depends upon a withdrawal from their enemies, and an union with their friends and natural allies. If they should con-tinue their union with the non-slaveholding States, let them keep their slave property in their own borders, and the only alternative left them will be enancipation their own act, or by the action of their confederates e cannot consent to relieve them from their embar rassing situation, by permitting them to realize the money value for their slaves by selling them to us, an rassing situation, by permitting them to realize and money value for their slaves by selling them to us, and thus prepare them, without any loss of property, to accommodate themselves to the Northern Free-Soil idea. But should they unite their destiny with us, and become stars in the Southern galaxy—members of a great Southern Confederation—we will receive them with open arms and an enthudiasting greeting. Should, then, danger approach their borders, or an enemy, open or disguised, make war upon them, there is not a doubt but a living rampart of freemen, from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico, would line their borders and beat back the invaders.

back the invaders.

To dispense with the necessity, as much as may b To dispense with the necessity, as much as may be possible, of resorting to Lynch-law and illegal executions, in punishing offenders against the peace of society and the safety of our citizens, I would suggest the eactment of a law, punishing summarily and severely, if not with death, any person that circulates incendiary documents, avows himself an abolitionist, or in any way attempts to create insubordination or insurrection among the slaves. If some act of this kind is not passed, the people, goaded to madness by the frequent attempts to disturb their quiet and destroy their property and lives, will not, under excitement, be very careful in measuring the punishment they inflict, and is to be feared that the innocent may suffer with the guilty, and scenes of violence and bloodshed too frequently occur. With the knowledge that there is a law to reach the cases, the legal tribunals of the State will be the first appealed to, and in most cases their decision will be satisfactory to the people, made, as it will be, under outh, and with time for reflection and examination.

The resolution of the General Assembly directing The resolution of the General Assembly directing the Governor to communicate to all the slaveholding States certain resolutions adopted unanimously, expressing the opinion they should immediately meet to gether to concert measures for united action, was, soon after the adjournment, acted upon, and copies of the resolutions sent to every Southern State. Misciscippi and Alabama were the only States that agreed to meet South Carolina in Convention, and as no delegates had been appointed by the Legislature, I did not feel authorized to make an appointment without there had been a general agreement of the Southern States to meet. Had such been the case, I would either have convened the Legislature to appoint delegates, or have convened the Legislature to appoint delegates, or have taken the responsibility of appointing them myself. The consequence was, no convention met, and each State was left to act for herself, and upon her own re-

sponsibility.

It was proposed at the extra session to raise \$400,000 by issuing State bonds, to arm the State, and prepare for her defense; but, for want of time, no decision was made on the proposition. In the mean time, however, and with great promptness, the Bank of Charleston, through its President, telegraphed to me that it would take \$100,000 worth of the bonds of the State at par; and since then, a formal resolution of the State at par; and since then, a formal resolution of its Board has been sent me to the same effect. This act of patriotic duty on the part of the Bank of Charleston merits your highest commendation, and sets an example of love to the State, and devotion to her cause, worthy of general imitation. The mere "money-changer" would calculate the value of the investment, and prospect of

gain; but the patriot sees nothing but the necessities
of his State, and hastens to relieve them.

The separation of the Southern States from the North The separation of the Southern States from the North will leave the Southern States, to a great extent, without the facilities of manufacturing arms, for the want of armories; and it will, therefore, be important for each individual State to establish an armory, or

that two, three, or four States should unite for that purpose. We should not be depondent on the North, or a foreign country, for our veapons of defense, lest in the hour of need the surply may be withheld from us. Major R. S. Kipley, eitzen of South Carolina proposes to establish an armory for the South, in Georgia, Alabama, or South Carolina, according as may be agreed on by those States. All he asks is that each of the three States named should contract with him for \$50,000 worth of arms annually for five years, and extend their patronage for a short period thereafter; the arms turnished to be up to a standard model, to be determined upon and delivered at prices fixed by competent authority, and to be subject to the proper military inspection, in parts, by State officers—those of each State to inspect the arms for that State. This would be preferable to having an armory, and would preclude the necessity of burdening each State with extensive establishment, dependent upon it for management by saluried officers, and would require no expenditure by the State until its value would be received.

There seems to be nothing in the proposition but what is fair and reasonable, and if the State determines to keep up her supply of arms, it cannot be better done than by the plan proposed. Copies of letters from the Governors of Georgia and Alabama, to Major Ripley, were sent to me. They approve of the proposition, and promise to recommend to their Legislatures to bind themselves to take annually \$50,000 worth of arms, to be paid for at the same price paid by the Federal Government for arms of the same finish and description; provided they are of the latest and approved military patterns, and are manafactured in one of the States mentioned. I would, therefore, recommend that South Carolina bind herself to take \$50,000 worth of arms annually, for five years, from Major Ripley, upon the conditions mentioned above,

\$50,000 worth of arms annually, for five years, from Mujor Ripley, upon the conditions mentioned above, and that a negotiation be opened between the three States, to settle on the site for the Armory.

and that a negotiation be opened between the three States, to settle on the site for the Armory.

At the request of a distinguished Virginian, Edmund Ruffin, esq., I herewith present to the Legislature one of the pikes intended by John Brown to be used by the negroes of Virginia upon the unoffending and peaceable inhabitants of that State. He requests that this weapon may be placed in some conspicuous position in the State-House of South Carolina, there to remain, and be preserved as abiding and impressive evidence of the fanatical hatred borne by the dominant Northern party to the institutions and people of the Northern party, to the institutions and people of the Southern States, and of the unscrupulous and atrocious means resorted to for the expected attainment of the objects in view;" and I respectfully recommend that the thanks of the State he returned to Mr. Ruffin for this memento of Southern wrongs, too long and too patiently borne, and that it be placed in the Hall of the House of Engressiatives.

this memento of Southern wrongs, too long and too patiently borne, and that it be placed in the Hail of the House of Representatives.

In obedience to the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of this State at its last regular region, expressing the opinion that the Siaveholding States should immediately meet together to concert measures for united action, and instructing the Governor to appoint a Commissioner to Virginia "to express to the authorities of that State the cordial sympathy of the people of South Carolina with the people of Virginia, and their earnest desire to unite with them in versures of common defense," and also to transmit to all the Southern States an invitation to meet in Convention, to consult and mature measures for the safety and security of the Southand their institutions, I immediately appointed to that office the Hon. C. G. Memminger, the mover of the resolutions, a gentle-I immediately appointed to that office the Hon. C. G. Memminger, the mover of the resolutions, a gentleman not only of high character and literary attainments, but who was generally regarded as the exponent of the opinions of the conservative porrion of the people of this State. It was thought desirable to eend a Commissioner who would not only have the ability to explain our position, and place us in a proper light before the Legislature and people of Virginia, but who would by his antecedents convince them that our great aim and object in asking for a conference with our Southern sisters was not to plan a dissolution of the Union, but to save it, if possible, by inence with our Southern sisters was not to plan a dissolution of the Union, but to save it, if possible, by insisting on satisfactory guarantees from the North, that we were in the future to be unmolested in our persons and property, acknowledged as equals by carrying our slaves to any Territory belonging to the Unired States, and having protection by the Federal Government against any attempt to interfere in any way with this property. Mr. Memninger was kinely received, hospitably entertained, and listened to with much attention, but his restretly and unaswerable argument betion, but his mesterly and unanswerable argument be-fore the Legislature and people of Virginia failed to onvince them of the necessity of concerted action on he part of the Southern States in Convention. The state of virginia thought proper to decline the pro-posed conference of the Southern States, as will be seen by the resolutions of her General Assembly here-

with transmitted, and only Mississippi and Alabama, of all the slaveholding States, acceded to the proposal. No such meeting of the States has taken place, as it No such meeting of the States has taken place, as it was thought the number agreeing to meet was too small to effect the desired object, by producing that moral effect which would unquestionably have resulted from a general meeting of the States interested. One of the resolutions adopted by Virginia in response to the invitation of South Carolina and Mississippi to meet in conference, expresses the opinion, that "Virginia does not yet distrust the capacity of the Southern States, by a wise and firm exercise of their reserved powers, to protect the rights and liberties of the people, and to preserve the Federal Union," and for this purpose she desires the concurrent action of the Southern States; but she adds "that efficient cooperation will be more safely obtained by such direct legistion will be more safely obtained by such direct legis-lative action of the several States as may be necessary and proper, than through the agency of an assemblage which can exerc se no legitimate power except to de-

bate and advise."

Thus we see that although Virginia had strong hopes at that time of preserving the Federal Union, she was u.willing to resort to any other way of effecting the would have the effect of producing the concurrent ac-ion of all the States interested. If, therefore, Virginia sright as to the best mode of redressing wrongs, and obtaining the concurrent action of other States, it follows that the separate action of each is the best method of getting cooperation or concerted action of the other States in any movement, and it would, therefore, be wise in South Carolina, in initiation of Virginia, to decline a representation in "any assemblage which can exercise no legitimate power except to debate and advise," and in no assemblage whitever, until by the ordinance of her Convention she has seceded from a Union which she once acceded to, and which has proved a curse instead of a bleering.

The effort of South Carolina to assemble the Southern States, in the hope that the North might be induced to pause and retrace their steps, by an earnest and unanimous protest against the course pursued by them, and a notification that unless a change of policy took place, the South would be compelled to take the redress of her grievances in her own hands, failed on account of the refusal of Virginia to join in the movewe that the separate action of each is the best meth

dress of her grievances in her own hands, failed on ac-count of the refusal of Virginia to join in the move-ments, although her borders had been recently invaded and her citizens murdered in cold blood by a band of Abolitionists instigated to the deed by the teachings of men of controlling influence in the North. All hope, therefore, of concerted action by a Southern Conven-tion being lost, there is but one course left for South Carolina to pursue, consistently with her hone, in-terest and safety, and that is, to look neither to the right nor left, but to go straightforward to the consum-vation of her introse.

right nor left, but to go straightforward to the consummation of her purpose.

It is too late now to receive propositions for a conference; and the State would be wanting in self-respect, after having deliberately decided on her course, to entertain any proposition looking to a continuance in the present Union. We can get no better or safer guarantee than the present Constitution, and that has proved impotent to protect us against the finaticism of the North. The institution of Slavery must be under the exclusive control of those directly interceted in its preservation, and set left to the mercy of those that believe it to be their duty to destroy it.

The tone of the Northern press has greatly changed since the unanimous and determined action of South Carolina. Heretofore it was supposed by our enemies that we were divided and distracted at home, and that, in consequence of our divisions, the scenes of 1851

in consequence of our divisions, the scenes of 1851 would be reconcted, and the State would finally acqui would be recent test, and the state would manly acquire eace in the Black Republican rule, or, at best, that something less than secession would be adopted, and our energies exhausted in fruitless expedients and una-vailing threats. Now that the unwelcome conviction force itself upon them that "we have counted the cost, and find nothing so intolerable as voluntary slavery and find nothing so intolerable as voluntary slavery,"
that we are not to be deterred from the assertion and
maintenance of our rights by the threats of Federal
bayonets, or the unmeaning and senseless display of
Wide-Awake processions, formidable only to the capitalists and conservatives of their own section, they begin to change their tone, and appeal to us, rather as
supplicants than as conquerors, to save a Union from
which they have reaped a rich harvest of prefit and
honor, and the South has only known by its exactions.

tions.

They have been deaf to the voice of reason and con-They have been deal to the counsels of their senguinity; they have disregarded the counsels of their wisest and best citizens. Their Neros, in the persons of Seward, Sumner, and others, have been fiddling while the Constitution has been trampled under foot, and a higher law inaugurated in its stead; in second-

and a higher law imangurated in its stead; in socordance with their treasonable advice and teaching, and by the crowning act of electing a Black Republican President to carry out their long cherished designs against the peace and prosperity of the South, they have declared open war against us.

What course, then, is left for the Southern State to pursue for the maintenance of their rights and the security of their property, but a separation from such open and misguided enemies, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, with every element of greatness and every means of defense necessary to protect them from any enemy, and command the respect and admiration of the world? It is gratifying to know that in the contemplated movement, South Carolina has strong assurances that she will not stand alone; that if the lone star we must have, it will be but for a short season, when star after star will be added, and has strong assurances that she will not stand alone; that if the lone star we must have, it will be but for a short season, when star after star will be added, and

the Southern banner "present to the heavens the bright constellation that adorns it."

There is no reasonable doubt but that Georgia, Alshama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas, will immediately follow, and that the other Southern States will eventually complete the galaxy. It was not to be expected that they would move before South Carolina; not on account of any want of patriotism and determination to resist aggression and insult, nor because they are less informed of their rights, or less prepared to nation to resist aggression and insult, nor because they are less informed of their rights, or less prepared to defend them; but on account of the national parties, so lately striving for victory in the Presidential canvass; in which contest there would naturally arise distrust and jealousy of each other, and a scramble for the ascendancy. Now that the Presidential election is over, and an enemy of their section is chosen to rule over them, we find all parties becoming united against the common enemy, and prepared to forget their past divisions, and unite in defense of their altars and firegides.

divisions, and unite in defense of their alters and firesides.

There is no longer any jealousy on the part of other resistance States toward South Carolina; on the contrary, they all urge her by every consideration of duty and patriotism to lead the van in this noble struggle for our violated rights. What a sublime moral spectacle is presented to the world by our beloved State; small in territory, with a comparatively sparse population, and without much military training, yet relying upon the justice of our carse and the approving smile of Heaven, the is first among the foremost to sever her connection with the Federal Government, and to accept the consequences that may follow her decision. I will not the ranto an claborate argument to prove the right of a State pencently to second from the Union. It will not be controverted that each State entered the Union as a State, and not as an unorganized mass of individis a State, and not as an unorganized mass of individ-uls, and that the action of each State was independent of the others; and if any proof of this fact be wanting, it may be found in the action of North Carolina, which State did not enter the Union until more than a year after it was formed by the admission of nine States, which number was required by the Convention that adopted the present Constitution of the United States, It is true that no provision is made in the Constitu-tion for dissolving the Union, and it is very probable that the patriots who framed the instrument had no idea that the loathsome fanaticism, pandered to by Northern politicians, would ever make it necessary for

Northern politicians, would ever make it necessary for the safety of the South that they should dissolve the compact on account of its violation by the other section of the Confederacy, but it must be remembered as a rule of universal application, that a violation of a com-pact or agreement by one party releases the other from its binding obligation, and the only question is, who is to judge of the infraction. From the very nature of the case, in a compact with sovereigns, there can be, no umpire, unless one is provided by the instrument it-self, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "each Santo-self, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "each Santono empire, unless one is provided by the instrument tagelf, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "each Sate must judge of the infraction and the mode and measure of redress." A compact between sovereign Sintes, with the understanding that the majority should put their construction upon its provisions, world not be worth the paper upon which it was written. Majorities need no protection, for they can protect themselves, but minorities insist upon co-astitutions to restrain the majority, and to allow it to put its construction upon the compact, is equivalent to giving the abtion upon the compact, is equivalent to giving the absolute power to govern the min city, irrespective of

any restraints.

The simple statement of the case is this. Each State entered the Union under the Constitution; the Federal entered the Union under the Constitution; the Federal Government is the agent of the States, created for special purpose, and circumscribed in its action by the articles of greenent, or in other words the Constitution. Whenever the States having the power to control this agent, permit or command him to violate the compact, each State, not having surrendered its sovereignty, has a right to remonstrate or withdraw as she may think proper, and no earthly power has the right to prevent her.

It is arged by some as an argument against secession, that the existing Government would be destroyed by a

that the existing Government would be destroyed by a State seceding; that the revenue laws would become inoperative, and the whoels of Government stand still. My answer is this, that in the exercise of an undoubted inoperative, and the whoels of Government stand still.

My answer is this, that in the exercise of an undoubted right and being forced to exercise it by the party that is likely to suffer, it cannot complain of the consequences of its own acts. If South Carolina secedes, the Government will be in no worse condition, except for a very short time, than it would have been if South Carolina had never entered the Union, which is acknowledged on all hands, she was not bound to do.

The idea that a majority must always govern, which has taken possession of the Northern mind, is as mischievous as it is fallacious, and is contradicted by all the analogies of a republican government. If a mere majority is to govern, why have two houses of Congress—a Senate and House of Representative? Why give the President the veto power? Why submit the action of all three to a judicial tribunal? Why require juries to be unanimous in giving their verdict?

action of all three to a judicial tribunal? Why require juries to be unanimous in giving their verdict? The conclusion is irresistible that it is for the protection of minorities and the safety of the citizen. I may be naked if a minority should govern. My answer is, no; but they should be able, by constitutional restrictions. tions, to restrain the majority from acts of injustic and oppression. In the copartnerships formed by in-dividuals, the majority is not permitted to construe the articles of agreement to the injury of the minority, but in this case there is a disinterested tribunal to de-cide the question. In a compact between States, from the nature of the case, there can be no tribunal to decide violations of it, and the remedy must be a disso cide violations of it, and the remedy must be a disso-lation of the agreement, without any right on the part of the majority of the Statesto prevent the withdrawal of any of the parties, otherwise might would make right, and a compact be an unmeaning and worthless

ricce of parchment.

It follows, from the views presented, that the Federal Government cannot rightfully use force to prevent a State from seceding or force her back into the Union; having arms in their hands may use them," and I can-not too carreetly urge upon you the importance of arm-ing the State at the earliest practicable period, and ing the State at the earnest practicals period, and thus be prepared for the worst. It is gratifying to know that if we must resort to arms in defense of our rights, and a blow should be struck at South Carolina before the other States move up in line, we have the tender of volunteers from all the Southern and some of the Northern States, to repair promptly to our standard and where our ferrings.

and share our fortunes.

In urging the State to arms, it is not to be understood that we are defenseless; by examining the report of the Adjutant and Inspector-General herewith transthat we are defenseless; by examining the report of
the Adjutant and Inspector-General herewith transmitted, you will see that we have sufficient arms to
supply the number of soldiers that will probably be
necessary for some time to come, and many of our arms
are of the most approved patterns; but no one can tell
what a day may bring forth, and it is a wise precaution to prepare in time. I cannot permit myself to
believe that in the madness of passion an attempt will
be made by the precent or next administration to coerce
South Carolina, after secession, by refusing to surrender to her the harbor defenses, or by interfering with
her imports or exports; but if I am mistaken in this,
we must accept the issue, and meet it as becomes men
and freemen, who, in all the calanness of determined
resolutions, infinitely prefer annihilation to disgrace.
We cannot penetrate the dark future; it may be
filled with ashes, tears and blood;" but let us go
forward in the discharge of our duty, with an unwavoring trust in God, and a consciousness that anything is
preferable to dishoner and degradation.

Note.—In addition to what has been said of postal
matters, the present arrangement might be continued,
by an agreement between the State and the Federal

Note.—In addition to what has been said of postal matter, the present arrangement might be continued, by an agreement between the State and the Federal authorities for a given time, and until other States secede, and the formation of a Southern Confederacy, when the whole subject can be intrusted to them; but if no arrangement of this sort can be carried out, and the Government insists on considering the State still in the Union after the ordinance of secession has been nessed, the present arrangement must cease, and some passed, the present arrangement must cease, and some other, under State authority, be substituted.

LETTER FROM SENATOR CLAY OF LOUIS-

LETTER FROM SENATOR CLAY OF LOUISIANA.

From the Charleston Mercury.
NEW-OBLEANS, La., Nov. 15.

My Dear Sir:

I think the cup of our
wrongs and injuries now overflows. Since the election
of a man to the Presidency pledged to a war of extermination of Slavery, the North can offer us no greater
insult or stronger proof of hatred and vengeance.
When the South bowed down to the Georgia Union
platform in '51, and pledged herself to dissolution if
Congress materially impaired the force and effect of the platform in '51, and pledged herself to dissolution if Congress materially impaired the force and effect of the Fugditive Slave law, abolished Slavery in the Territories, &c., &c., I regarded them as the idle memores of a conquered and retreating army, which would not be acted out when the trial came. I was for secession of the South, or of any Southern State, for sufficient cause then. How can I be otherwise now? for if a mere majority of Congress should perpetrate any one of the wrongs suggested in the Georgia platform, it might be truly said they do not express the sentiments or principles of the Northern people—their masters will rebuck these unfaithful servants by turnit night be truly said they do not express the sentiments or principles of the Northern people—their masters will rebuke these unfaithful servants by turning them out—let us await the verdict of the grand inquest of the Northern people at the ballot-box before we sever our Union with them, for they are, or may be, friends, misrepresented as enemies. Georgia should not have waited the judgment of the North upon these or either of these acts of Congress, when passed by her Representatives and Senators, but ought to have immediately seeded. Now, the people have spoken at the ballot-box in favor of each and every act of aggression, either one of which every Southern State has, time and again, declared just ground of Secession or Disunion, if adopted by a bare majority of Congress. Yea, more; the Northern people, by an immense majority, have proclaimed a war of extermination of Slavery, and an "irrepressible conflict" with its supporters, by selecting to rule over us the very author of that dogma which so shocked us when he first announced it; and, to heap insult upon injury, and prove their thorough scorn and louthing, as well as hatred, of the slaveholding States, they tell us that we are on the same degraded and low level with polyganists; in other words, that our wives, and with polygamiets; in other words, that our wives, and sisters, and mothers, and daughters are no better than the harlots of Brigham Young, in Utah, and that the men of the South are as unchristian, heathenish, and bestin as that human monster. Such is their real judgment, deliberately formed in Convention at Chicago, proclaimed in their platform of principles and sentiments there adopted, and reaffirmed, after years of discussion, at the ballot-box, on the 6th of this month.

Of course we cannot live under the same Gayern.

Of course we cannot live under the same Government with these people, unless we could control it. They are the most bitter, releatless, and vindicitive enemies we have on earth; and will not only subjugate but utterly destroy us—driving us, if they can, like the Jews, as an accursed nation, from the land of our

I am for separating from them immediately, and

I am for separating from them immediately, and making them a foreign people, with whom we will treat or fight, as they elect. Let South Carolina act alone and at once—the sooner the better. I think, Georgia, Alabama, and Missusippi will soon join he at and altimately all the slaveholding States, onless has souri or Delaware, prefer union with the Nor at to negro slavery, as they may do.

Pe assured that any attempt of Lincoln or his Wide-Awakes to suldue South Carolina, will rail g 100,000 men of the South to her defense in less than one month. They will be forced to fly to her relief by, the instinct of self-prefer vation; for, when the fight begins, they will realize the fact, that the majority of the Northern reople are the implacable and instinct enemies of Slavery and slaveholders of the South, and meanto do, what they have so solemnly premised to do—destroy Shivery and slaveholders of the South, and mean to do, what they have so solemnly promised to do—destroy both. Then the issue, already tendered us by the North, will be understood and accepted—Union without Slavery or distunion with Slavery—we calnot remain with you half Slave and half Free States.

All that I have, or can command, shall be at the service of my own, or any Southern State, that has

the reference, patriot em, and courage, to refuse to bow her neck to the year her Northern enemies have prepared to fasten ca her, or sumbit to the master they have appointed her her. If there is such a State—and I trust and be seve South Carolina is—let her act at I trust and be leve South Carolina is—let her act at once, and prepare for the last argument of nations, if it is forced upon her. If my life is spared, whether sick or well. I will stand or fall in her defense. In the hope of our early deliverance from the yoke of our Northern masters, and wishing you God speed in your roble efforts.

of our Northern market, it your noble efforts, it your noble efforts, I sm, in the best of bonds, Your friend and servant, C. C. CLAY, jr.

REASONS FOR SECESSION.

Sketch of the Speech made by Mr. C. G. Memmin-ger of Charleston, before the Citizens of Green-eille, on Thursday Night, the 22d November.

Fellow-Citizes of Greenville: In times like these, it is the daty of every citizen to contribute, in any way he can, to the solution of the difficulties which surround us. I have therefore cordially respended to the invitation of your Committee, and am here to-night to express my views upon the great question which now engresses the attention of our results. people.

Ten years ago, I had the pleasure of addressing you

upon this same subject. At that time the Legislatures of several of the Southern States had expressed their determination to resist, "at any and every hazard," if the Congress of the United States should give the force of law to what was then known as the Wilmot Proviso. The principle involved in this Proviso was, the viso. The principle involved in this Proviso was, the entire appropriation by the Northern States of the whole territory acquired from Mexico by the blood and treasure of the South, in conjunction with the North. South Carolina has contributed more than her quota for the acquisition of this territory. On the field of Cherubusco was spilled the blood of two of her noblest sone, and the gallant regiment, which she sent forth with hopeful pride, returned with but one-third of their original number. To us, therefore, it was a montanger proposition, that none of the results of their

their original number. To us, therefore, it was a monstrous proposition, that none of the results of their achievements should accrue to the benefit of the South. When by fraudulent contrivance the State of California was brought into the Union, with a clause in her Constitution excluding Slavery, and with limits far beyond the line of the Missouri Compromise, South Carolina thought that the case had now arisen in which the Southern States had determined to resist. The Wilmot Proviso was substantially sanctioned by Congress in the admission of California into the Union under these circumstances, and our State Legislature prepared for resistance.

Unfortunately for the South, sundry measures were simultaneously passed by Congress, which were offered

simultaneously passed by Congress, which were offered as a compromise to the South. Among these was a law for the more effectual remoition of fugitives slaves; law for the more effectual remoition of fugitives slaves; and it was declared, both in and out of Congress, that peace and security would now be secured to our country. Each of the Southern States which had declared against the Wilmot Proviso, except our own, accepted this compromise, and we were brought to the acceptity of choosing between acquiescence, for the time, or of leaving the Union alone.

Many of our people, among whom I was one, concluded that separate secession, under these circumstances, would be unwise. We believed then, as we do now, that the people of the North and of the South were essentially two nations, and that time would de-

were essentially two nations, and that time would develop this difference so completely as to lead to a Southern Confederacy. We felt confident that the assaults of the North on the slave institution of the South would not cease, and that a common interest would bring all the Southern States to desire a common destiny. Moreover, we perceived that the acceptance the Compromise by our sister States of the South m it with them a point of honor to sustain these Compro-mise measures; and we, therefore, could expect no co-operation from them in measures of resistance.

obliged to take what your hunters call the "back track," and many of us devoted our best efforts to restrain the further action of the State. The people were convinced of the propriety of delay, and the State it-self, through her Convention, while asserting the right of a State to secede, consented to withhold the exer-cise of that right.

Ten years have passed away; and what is the spec tacle which the country now presents? The North their perties of the compromise; and then they have proceeded to deny to the South that which they had bargained for. California has been pouring its millions into their lap, while not a single staveholder can hold a foot of its golden territory. State after State has been added to the Union, from each of which Slavery been added to the Union, from each of which Slavery has been excluded; and, when a single territory ap-peared with a toleration of Slavery in its Constitution, she was rejected with disdain.

On the other hand, the petty boon which had been

offered to the South as the price of all those counties benefits to the North—namely, the rendition of fugi-tive slaves—has been actually taken back by the North; may, worse, it has been made the means of throwing

benefits to the North—namely, the rendition of fugitive slave—has been actually taken back by the North; may were, it has been made the means of throwing contempt upon the South and its civilization. Fifteen States have either nullified the Act of Congress, or have made it next to impossible to carry it into execucution, and thus, instead of discharging the duty which, by the Constitution, each State solemnly undertook to perform, the Northern States have not only refused performance, but they pertinaciously interpose every obstacle to prevent the Federal Government from discharging the duty for them.

Presuming still further upon the divisions and weakness of the South, disregarding the plainest provisions of the Constitution, they invent a higher law, under whose sanctions they reject the decisions of the Courts of the Union, and have proceeded to organize a sectional party, whose avoved object is to interfere with and overthrow the domestic institutions of the Southern States. This party have no bond of Union, except avowed hostility to the South, and an equally avowed determination to make use of the Federal Government for the purpose of carrying out their schemes of emancipation. These schemes have been set forth in a book indorsed by their leaders, and by some sixty Men bers of Congress, and their first fruits have been exhibited by John Brown in Virginia, and by the torches and strychnia prepared for the good people of Texas.

This sectional party has succeeded in the late election, and is now preparing to seat its chief upon the Presidential throne. One of its leaders, who has

This sectional party has succeeded in the late elec-tion, and is now preparing to seal its chief upon the Presidential throne. One of its leaders, who has lately addressed speeches to the whole North, from Massachusetts to Kansas, has declared that in a single Presidential term they will be able to settle this mat-ter forever, so that the South will never be able to re-sist, and that the conflict must be maintained until Slavery shall cease to exist. In these views he has received the unqualified concurrence of the immense audiences which listened to him; and we have to re-ceive the result of the election as the declaration of their final determination. The new era has therefore

received the unqualified concurrence of the immense audiences which listened to him; and we have to receive the result of the election as the declaration of their final determination. The new era has therefore commenced, a revolution has been effected, and we are now to have a hostile Government, elected by a hostile section, whose settled purpose is war upon the peace and civilization of the South. Secession from such a Government is a necessity—not a choice. To submit to such rulers would be to acknowledge ourselves subjects without even putting our enemy to the trouble of making a conquest—in fact, it would be to wear chains, and claim them as a badge of distinction.

In 1776, when our fathers declared their independence of Great Britain, it was because a foreign Government claimed the right to pass laws for us which we had no agency in making. After eighty years of independence, we are brought back to the same position. A sectional party, taking possession of the Government, and wheling it for sectional party is a foreign Government, and when, as in the present case, the party is animated by sectional hate, the subject minority is in a worse condition than the subject of an absolute monarch; for he would feel some sympathy with every portion of his dominions. But in our case, famaticism has extinguished every kindly feeling, and political jealousy has taken the place of patriotism. What remains for the South but to cast off such a Government and to return to the original position of independent States. Our right to do so has been al-

Government and to return to the original position of independent States. Our right to do so has been al-

ereigns.

The very name, which they assumed esserted this. They called the procedure, not the State of Columbia, or the State or Nation of America, but the United States of America. After the peace with England, they remailed to rester under a treaty called Articles of Confederatio. When the present Constitution was adopted, they, studionally retained their character as States, and to avoid all doubt and uncertainty, adopted an americament preserving to each all reserved powers.

One remire section (the tenth) of the Constitution is occurred with restrictions upon the sovereign rights of cled with restrictions upon the sovereign rights of these rights, subject to the restriction. Such a section would have been absurd if the Constitution had ntended to merge the States into a consolidated

Equally clear seems to me to be the justice and propriety of secession. In 1851 we were embarrassed by the certainty that none of our sister States would unite with us. Now they are, many of them, prepared for the same course of action. They have seen the fulfillment of our prophecies, and see that the government of Lincoln will be a foreign and hostile government. Then their leading men respected us to stay our hand, but now they advise us to see forward. Then we were able to remain in the Union, with only prospective dangers before us. Now if we remain we deliver our arms, our artresses, and our purse into the hands of avowed enemies, and degradation and ruin must inevitably avail us.

bly await us.
Fellow-citizens, none of us are willing thus to sur Fellow-citizens, none of us are willing thus to sur-render at discretion, and the Legislature has, therefore, very properly determined to take immediate steps for our relief. A Convention has been called, and you are now to elect members to this Convention. Bear in mind that secession implies the construction of a new Government, probably of a Southern Confederacy. You ought, therefore, to seek out and elect your best and wisest men. But with wisdom they should have the surement strong feeling in this great cause, coal enthusiasm, strong feeling in this great cause, cool heads, and warm hearts—they should be men determined that South Carolina shall never submit to the domination of a Northern sectional party, and then, fellow-citizens, when we have made this selection, let fellow-citizens, when we have made this selection, let us go forward with a determined purpose, and we shall probably not only achieve our independence, but lay the foundations of a Confederacy in which law and order shall again abide and govern. Our cause is just; order shall again abide and govern. Our cause is just; we have in no case been aggressors; we have borne with our adversaries until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue, and now believing and trusting in the God whom the Bible reveals, and sustaining only such institutions as He has sanctioned, we may rest assued that we shall receive His support.

Whether our enemies will permit our secession to be peaceable, remains a problem. Possibly the gans which becomed from the old Palmetto Fort upon a forcion enemy may be turned upon the cons of those who

which becomed from the old Palmetto Fort upon a for-eign enemy may be turned upon the sons of those who manned them in the Revolution. In that event, I feel confident that some of you will be there as speedily as steam can transport you, and with you, so many of our gallant countrymen that the contest will become vain, and the flag of the Union will forever disappear from the old Jasper stand. And it must be our consolation that if the foreign mercenary shall spill the blood of our citizens, there will spring up life from the dead, and a Southern Confederacy will rise into sudden and vigorous existence.

vigorous existence.

But should my earnest, and I think well-founded, hope of such a result be disappointed, I am willing to hazard all the contingent difficulties of a single separate nationality, rather than submit to the tyranny of the sectional party which is about to seize our Government under the forms of a Constitution which they have trampled under their feet. The hour, I trust, is at land for our deliverance; and may God of His infinite mercy grant us courage and wisdom to use it discreetly. There is no just ground for apprehension as to the result. The South contains all the elements of to the result. The South contains all the elements of a great nation. Even in territory a few States united would form larger nations than many of the European nations. South Carelina and Georgia alone would form a larger nation than Sardinia, which is now existing by its statesman-hip and vigor, the admiration of Europe, and when to these are added Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, these States alone would form a Confederacy which would command respect from the civilized world.

But when it is considered that these States hold, in

But when it is considered that these States hold, in the cetton crop, the keys of commerce and manufac-tures for the whole world, their importance becomes tures for the whole world, their importance becomes vastly increased; and no nation can disregard or treat them with indifference. To these great advantages the South can add the solid conservatism and good sense which has always been their characteristic. None of the morbid excitements which are the curse of the North have ever found an abiding place among us, and it is a singular fact in our history, that both the conservative and defensive elements in our Government have been furnished by the South. The institution of Slavery has given us strength, instead of being an element of weakness, and if any one wishes to learn the philosophy of this fact, he will find it fully developed, as far back as the Revolution, in one of the peeches of Mr. Burke.

Fellow-citizens, let no man among you suppose that

Fellow-citizens, let no man among you suppose that because you have not many negroes among you, you are not equally concerned in this contest. Is any one so silly as to suppose that if the negroes are emancipated they will remain in the lower country to cultivate the rice fields ? No. They are incapable of any regulated habor, and, least of all, of the exact regulation which such cultivation requires. They will, therefore, swarm up among your more desirable abodes, and, with equal rights and equal numbers, what is to keep them be the necessary result? A war of races—a war of extermination? For all history attests the fact that such races can only exist together in a condition of de-

such ruces can only exist together in a condition of dependency, each as our Slavery. A condition of independency involves necessarily conflict and eventual extermination. It is, therefore, as much your interest as ours to preserve the existing state of things, and the wise Providence of God has so ordered the constitution of the races, that this existing order is the best arrangement for both.

Finally, fellow-citizens, let us continue to be united, as we have begun. Our Legislature has acted with encouraging unanimity. When the Convention shall have decided upon our course, let us pursue it with the same union of hearts and hands. Let us be kindly to each other, and tolerate differences of opinions of the convention of the same union of hearts and hands. Let us be kindly to each other, and tolerate differences of opinions. That we may reach this result, it is well in prepared for every contingency. Our enemion admit our right to leave this Union, but they may attempt to corree. Their ignorance and presumption would had as a very decided and presumption

admit our right to leave this Union, but they may attempt to coerce. Their ignorance and presumption would lead us rather to infer the latter, and we should prepare ourselves to repel force with force. Our State should at once put herself in a position of defense, and her people should form one vast camp. Every regiment and company should be fully armed and trained; and our resources should be freely brought forward and contributed. No man who is in earnest will object to contribute his quota, and the best earnest we can give of our sincerity is a willing contribution to the support of the State. Let not our Legislature, therefore, heaitate in calling upon the people. The people, I am sure, are ready and willing upon this issue to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

## VIEWS OF EX-SENATOR HAYNE.

VIEWS OF EX-SENATOR HAYNE.

To the Editor of The Charleston Mercury:

I leave Charleston to-day, and shall be absent until after the election of Delegates to the Convention of the People. Having no other means of reaching the public, I would be glad, through your paper, to say a word on this subject, in connection with myself.

It is manifest that no ticket of Delegates, which has as yet appeared, concentrates the public opinion, and that the choice of the people can only be ascertained through the ballot-box. Among the multitudes of names brought forward, my own has been several times presented; and, holding that a seat in this Convention is "neither to be sought or declined," I cannot do otherwise than allow it to remain.

If I should be elected I would feel grateful to my fellow-citizens for the confidence which a selection to so responsible a situation would imply, and I pledge myself that whatever of ability I possess, shall be devoted, with untiring assiduity, and perfect singleness of purpose, to the honor and welfare of South Carolina. As a son of the soil, stimulated by every association which hallows the past, and every hope which gilds the future, I could not do otherwise. Obligations to a dead ancestry, and to seven living sons, alike hind me to nerform that duty, to the State, which, allow the duty, to the State, which, allow the past, and every hope which gilds the future, I could not do otherwise.

which gilds the future, I could not do otherwise. Obligations to a dead ancestry, and to seven living sons, alike bind me to perform that duty to the State, which would, without such aid, be prompted by the instincts of my own individual nature.

Should the voters of Charleston, however, find twenty-two delegates whom they deem worthier than myself, if I do not, like the ancient patriot, "rejoice," I shall at least submit without a murmur; and in such event I pledge myself that the zeal and ardor with which I shall still serve the State, as one of the humblest of her citizens, shall be no whit abated by the disappointment.

blest of her citizens, shall be no whit abated by the disappointment.

I have had no opportunity of addressing my fellow-citizens of Charleston since the present movement commenced, and, being a candidate, I ought, perhaps, "to define my position," though I might hope that a record of thirty years did so sufficiently.

It is now just thirty years since I edited a newspaper in Columbia, advocating the doctrine of nullification, as expounded by Calhoun and Harper. I am not aware that I have ever changed or wavered in a political principle or sentiment since that time. In my private judgment, at that time, I became convinced that the "South alone should govern the South," and ever since I have considered a Southern Confederacy "a consummation devoutly to be wished." I opposed separate secession in 1851, because I believed then, as

ready asserted by our former C avention, and is samply sustained by the soundest of reasons. When our State asserted, in Convention with her sister States, her independence, they all were forth as sovereign, uplated States, exercising, each of them, the rights of sovereigned exercising, each of them, the rights of sovereign, exercising, each of them, the rights of sovereigned exercising. The other Southern States had already expendence in the twint with a the time and the occasion were inspection.

secession.

I will say further that, conneited as South Carolines now is, though all the rest of the South should successly, she is bound to try the bazards, even though the should be solitary at d alone. The Rubicon is already passed. In conclusion, let me say, that I am not one of those who, ever, at any time, looked to secession as a means who, ever, at any time, looked to secession as a means of saving the Union. I want no new gustanty, but a separation, permanently and foreser, from a people whose modes of thought and feeling are opposite and antagonistic to our own, and who have become strong enough to govern us, if we remain united.

ISAAC W. HAYNE.

## SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION. On the evening of November 23d a public meetin

was held in New-Orleans, for the purpose of forming a Southern Rights Association." The following proamble was adopted:

amble was adopted:

Whereas, We, the citizens of New-Orleans and of
the State of Louisiana, ignoring all former political
ties, names, and associations, have met for the purpose
of declaring our sentiments on the present momentous
crisis in the history of our country, and to form a
Southern party and state its objects, feel that a due reard for the online of the state. Southern party and state its objects, feel that a due regard for the opinion of our fellow-men impels us to avow the reasons and causes for such a step, which are made up by the history of the insults, aggressions, and wrongs heaped upon us as Southern men by those who should be our friends and brethren, but who are really and in fact our worst enemies—we mean the northern portion of this Confederacy. In support of which, we submit the following facts:

They have, for more than thirty years, assailed the institution of African Slavery in the South, and have made our Federal Legi-lature a graad instrument for incendiarism and Ab billon;

made our Federal Legislature a graad instrument for incendiarism and Abelilion;
They deny to us a common property in our Territories, acquired equally by our money and blood, on the on the ground that the people of the South, with their institutions, are not worthy to colonize them;
They have passed laws in a majority of their State Legislatures nullifying the provisions of the Constitution of the United States for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and the laws of Congress passed thereunder, and made it a criminal offense in any one to aid in the execution of these laws of Congress;
They have rendered representation in Congress of no avail to protect the interests of the South—and thus

avail to protect the interests of the South—and thus taxation without representation is practically enforced They have proclaimed that there is a " higher lose "

than the Constitution and laws of our country, and that they will disregard their oaths and trample upon

that they will disregard their oaths and trample upon our rights;

They have organized a sociations to steal our slaves and prevent their recapture, and have murdered their masters in seeking their rendition;

They have invaded Southern soil and murdered our inoffending citizens, and men among them, high in position and office, have bestowed praise and culciums upon the assassins—while the Executives of several of their States refused to deliver parties implicated in these crimes, upon proper and legal requisitions;

They have sent seditious pamplets and papers among us—while sixty-right of their members of Congress indorsed "Helpers Impending Crisis," an incendury book, and utterly subversive of Southern rights and safety;

safety;
They have sent emissaries among us to born our towns, and distribute arms and poison among our slaves to devolate the South;
By their fanaticism and intolerance, they have com-

By their fanaticism and intolerance, they have compelled us to separate from them in our churches and other religious institutions:

And recently, as if to add the crowning insult and wring to the long catalogue, and to compel us to declare as severed the last tie that binds us together as a mation—with the choire of three national and cocervative candidates, they have, by a large majority of a strictly sectional vote, elected Abraham Lincoln and Hamibal Hamiba to the high offices of President and Vice-President of the United States—representative men of all that is edicus and unjust to the South—Reachliers in name and Abolitionists at heart. Vice-President of the United States representative men of all that is odicus and unjust to the South-Black Republicars in name and Abolitionists at heart; the first of whom is the author of the doctrine that that there is an "irrepressible conflict between the North and South," and has openly avowed that he will disregard the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring it the right of the South to carry slave property into the Territories;

And, believing as we do that, by these declarations and acts, the Northern States have virtually subjected the Constitution and dissolved the Union, and that the only safegmard for our rights, property and liberties is in prompt action; therefore, we agree to form a political association.

The following article from the Constitution of the Association, states the purposes of the organization:

The rollowing article from the Constitution of the Association, states the purposes of the organization:

ART. 2. The objects of this Association shall be to encourage Southern independence of interest and feeling, and to promote concert of action among the Southern States. And should any State or States, in the exercise of their sovereign right, withdraw from the Union, and the Federal Gonernment attempt coercion, to extend to such State or States our cordial support and sympathy; to use all honorable means to bring about, under the sanction of a State Convention, the withdrawal of the State of Louisians from the present Union, and the assertion of her independence and sovereignty; and, finally, to promote in every way the sovereignty; and, finally, to promote in every way the Southern States, or such of them as will unite for that

## KENTUCKY FOR THE UNION. The Louisville Democrat publishes the proceedings

of a very large meeting in that city, held on the evening of Nov. 26, in which it says 3,000 patriots participated. A Committee was appointed of which Mr. Guthrie was a member, to draft resolutions. On the return of the Committee with two reports they failing to agree-Mr. Guthrie rose and spoke, in substance, as

to agree—Mr. Guthrie rose and spoke, in substance, as follows:

Frilow-citizens: We have been called here to take into consideration the flarming condition of our country, North and South. Now for the first time in latery of America has a political panic arisem—a striking down the fortunes of the first ming the laborer of his wages. No consideration of the character of the individual presiding over slis meeting should weigh in the momentous question we have met to discuss and consult upon.

The election of a sectional President by a sectional party of one section of country was not the great grievance of which we have to complain—it was the organization of a sectional party at the North unfriendly to the institutions and interests of the South. But what is the election of a sectional President, with an antagonistic Senate and House of Representatives? He cannot appoint an officer without the sanction of one, nor receive an appropriation of public moneys except through the other, and by their consent.

Should the election of a sectional President study the progress of a country like ours, a country whose progress is without parallel in history? With the election of a single man what have we to fear? [A voice, "Everything."] I say we have a great deal to fear if we fail to do our duty. But we have nothing to fear if we are true to ourselves and to our country, if we are actuated by the same sentiments that filled the breasts of our revolutionary sizes. We have a strong minority of friends in the Free States—an array sympathizers and allies, who have gallantly fought our battles, and now stand in the breach with us.

While we denounce the aggressions of the North is the South nothing to blame? Are our skirts free frem the cause of this impending calamily? Has the South presented an unbroken front with her Northern allies to he energies? Have we allowed the conservative people to rally to the support of a conservative man? We have much to fear if divided, but nothing to dread

south presented an improved not with her Northern allies to the enen is a? Have we allowed the conservative man? We have much to fear it divided, but nothing to dread if we are united. Here, on the south side of the Onio, a middle State, with the Free States on the one side, and the South upon the other, what have we le gain out of the Union, and shall we be driven or forced into antagonism with cither section? We naturally take sides with those whose interests are identical with our own, but we will not fight the battles of South Carolina while she is safe at home in bed! [Cheers.]

When we appeal to those border States, Indiana, Illinios, and Pennsylvania, shall we say they will not listen, that they will not rouse up, and the conservative spirit rally and say to fanaticism South and to abolitionism North: Withdraw your unconstitutional acte; we will work for you with heart and soul; and the remedy for these evils is within and not of the Union. Shall that glorious covenant of our liberties, the Constitution, be abandoned at the first sharm? Lincoln was elected according to the constitutional forms by a

was elected according to the constitutional forms by a sectional minority, because they were united and we were divided, and shall we then pull down this glorious fabric? Rather let us say to the North: retrace your steps; and to the South: stay your hand, the remedy for your grievances is in, and not out of the Union?

Union?

The only mas of the Revolution who was unfaithful was from the North. Benedict Arnold rests under the corn of the world as a traitor to his country. The greatest of patricts, George Washington, was from the South. If there are going to be traitors to liberty, let them be from the North. Let us stand by the precepts of Washington and his noble compatriots, and rebuke sectionalism. But let us be calm, temperate, and discrete in action. Let not this glorious nations nation, and on the compatriots of the control of the co creet in action. Let not this glorious nations nation, that in its infancy, with but 3,000,000 people, bearded the British Lion, be divided in its greatness, with its